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ABSTRACT

The Lincoln-Douglas debates were significant in the history of political journalism in that new ground was tricken by reporters traveling extensively with candidates, making extensive use of shorthand to record campaign speeches, and fighting for the press rights to cover the events. Also, the press coverage preserved the candidates' debates on the crucial issues of the day which became part of the presidential campaign of 1860. The performance of the press in such key campaigns helped refine its role in modern political coverage. For the most part, political reporters and their papers reflected a particular political bias. Innovative exceptions in debate coverage were the objective reporting of entire debates and the reporting of both candidates' activities by one newspaper. The growing influence of press coverage is indicated by the fact that at least one speech was delayed by waiting for a reporter to get to his place. The coverage gave the relatively unknown Lincoln national exposure which partially allowed his presidential victory two years later over the previously better-known Douglas. (TJ)

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HISTORY

THE PRESS AND THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858

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I.

In 1858 the two leading personalities of the ruling Democratic party, President James Buchanan and Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas, were involved in an acrimonious political fight which held the attention of the nation's press, politicians and public. At that point Douglas faced a tough, two-sided reelection battle, which he had to win to remain the leading contender for the Democrat's 1860 presidential nomination. On one side he was opposed by a vengeful Buchanan and a handful of Illinois Democrats who supported the President; on the other side he faced the young but growing Republican Party.[1]

The 1858 Illinois campaign brought the nationally known Douglas face-to-face with Abraham Lincoln, mostly known only in his home state, but an articulate spokesman for Republican principles. Their senatorial campaign has earned a special place in American history, partly due to the later success of Lincoln, and partly because of the drama and content of the seven joint debates which the two candidates conducted. Historians of the period generally agree the debates played an important role in the careers of both men. Their prestige was greatly enhanced by the campaign, and within two years they met again for the greater prize of the presidency.[2]

The important personal benefits which the candidates derived from the 1858 election can be attributed in part to extensive national press coverage. It was one of the first major American political campaigns to be covered in a modern style. Breaking new ground, reporters traveled extensively with the candidates, made intensive use of shorthand to record campaign speeches and fought for the recognition of the press' right to cover the events.[3] Perhaps even more important, the press coverage preserved the content of the candidates' debates on the critical issues of the day. Reprinted, the speeches were widely distributed by the parties in the 1860 presidential campaigns, particularly Lincoln's. His

words of 1858, preserved by the reporters, became the foundation of the successful campaign of 1860.[4]

This study, by focusing on the pivotal Lincoln-Douglas 1858 campaign, examines (1) the function and role of political reporters at the time; (2) the press' relationship with candidates; and (3) the contribution of reporters and the press to the public's knowledge and understanding of the candidates and the issues.

II.

The seven joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas were not included in their original campaign plans.[5] The idea for the debates and the news about them first reached the public through the newspapers. The first to suggest it publicly was the newly merged Chicago Press and Tribune. On July 1, 1858, the paper recalled Lincoln and Douglas had debated briefly during the 1854 Illinois senatorial election. "If Mr. Douglas cares about repeating the experiment of 1854...we have reason to believe he can be accommodated," the paper stated.[6] On July 12 Horace Greeley's New York Tribune editorialized: "We trust Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas will speak together at some fifteen or twenty of the most important and widely accessible points throughout the State.... Such a conflict of principles of the gravest public consequence tends to purify the political atmosphere and enoble the strife of parties."[7] The Press and Tribune on July 22 charged Douglas was attracting large audiences under false pretenses because Illinois voters thought he had become a "free soil advocate." It went on to suggest the candidates "canvass the state together, in the usual western style...."[8]

On July 24 Lincoln wrote to Douglas, asking, "Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences during the present canvass?"[9] Although it was not really agreeable

to the better known Douglas, he accepted. Since both men had already spoken a day apart at Chicago and Springfield, which covered two of Illinois' nine congressional districts, Douglas agreed to meet Lincoln once in each of the other seven. In another exchange of letters Douglas set the dates, places and ground rules. It was an important victory for Lincoln and the editorial pressure of the Chicago Press and Tribune had helped to bring it about.[10]

III.

The nation's press soon comprehended the importance of the Illinois election.[11] In a representative editorial, the Louisville Democrat wrote: "The debate in Illinois, between Lincoln and Douglas, is the abelest and most important that has ever taken place in any of the States, on the great question which has so long agitated the country, elected and defeated Presidential candidates, built up and broken down political parties. It is the opening of the question for 1860."[12] The Missouri Republican of St. Louis observed it was not just another state election because "it has been invested with the elements of a national contest.... What else can induce the people from one extremity of the Union to the other to inquire with intense anxiety, as to the probable result? Why is every paper filled with speculations upon the chances of the election, and its effect upon future political movements?"[13]

The 1858 campaign was an event made to order for newspaper coverage. The issues and personalities involved were symbolic of the nation's overriding problem of slavery, which was steadily pushing toward the climactic showdown of 1861.

IV.

One of the first campaign problems for the candidates was lining up press

support. Illinois had grown rapidly during the 1850s. As railroads, telegraph and population spread, so did newspapers. During the decade Illinois dailies rose from eight to 23 and weeklies went from 84 to 223.[14] An important characteristic of newspapers at the time was their political role. Many existed to serve small national, state or local political cliques and were wholly dependent on these groups for financial support, usually in the form of government printing contracts or postmasterships.[15] The typical newspaper of the day was a simple affair operated by one person or a small number of partners with limited equipment, money and plant. Only in large cities did they attain appreciable size, and even there fierce competition killed many.[16]

But overall they were growing, and aided by the railroads and telegraph, their influence was spreading. As the country's principal means of mass communication the newspaper was particularly important to the ambitions of politicians and parties, and each had to take care to have their propaganda outlets.[17] During the 1858 campaign Douglas depended particularly on the Chicago Times, Illinois State Register in Springfield, and his national outlet, the Washington D.C. States. Lincoln's counterparts were the Illinois State Journal in Springfield and the Chicago Press and Tribune.

On July 1, 1858, the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Press merged into the Chicago Press and Tribune.[18] This combination brought into partnership some of the leading western newspaper personalities of the day -- the Tribune's Joseph Medill, Charles H. Ray and Alfred Cowles, and the Press' William Bross, Barton W. Spears and John L. Scripps, who became senior editor.[19]

The aftermath of the Panic of 1857 had hurt the Chicago newspaper market and contributed to the merger of the two papers. The vigorous coverage of the Lincoln-Douglas debates by the enlarged publication helped it prosper, and by December, 1858 its circulation was put at 7,500 daily, 1,400 tri-weekly and 13,000

weekly. It was reported to have made a net profit of $10,000 during the campaign period.[20]

Douglas's strongest ally throughout the campaign was the Chicago Times. Its editor was James W. Sheahan, a close personal friend of Douglas. Sheahan had been with the paper since 1854 when it was established as the primary Douglas newspaper in the old Northwest. It was a strong, outspoken publication at the time and claimed to have the largest circulation in Chicago, without actually stating the figure.[21] Douglas's Springfield ally, the Illinois State Register, was edited by Charles H. Lanphier, another long-time supporter of the senator. His bitter and constant rival was the Illinois State Journal, edited by W. H. Bailhache and Edward L. Baker. Baker in particular was a close supporter of Lincoln for many years and Lincoln had written a number of editorials for the publication.[22] The Springfield papers were essentially one or two-man operations and their contribution was editorial support, not news coverage.

The newspapers of St. Louis were particularly important to the candidates because of their circulation and influence in southern Illinois. The Missouri Republican was a Democratic newspaper and the Missouri Democrat was Republican, which caused no little confusion for their contemporaries. The Chicago Tribune had even suggested they "swap names" to help their readers, but no change was forthcoming.[23]

The Republican, the largest of the St. Louis papers, claimed an aggregate weekly circulation of 70,000 for its seven daily, tri-weekly, weekly and bi-monthly California-Oregon editions. It had 175 employees and a weekly payroll of $4,000; the editorial force consisted of nine men.[24] After it threw its support to Douglas, a visiting New York Evening Post reporter observed, "The Republican is supporting Douglas in every issue and it is a power in the campaign, weighty, active and controlling."[25] The Republican's activist political

efforts caused one Missouri contemporary to protest, in vain, about "the presumptious, arrogant, insolent, and unjustifiable interference of this pestiferous old prostitute."[26]

The Missouri Democrat was a modest operation in comparison, but solidly anti-Douglas and it attempted to match the Republican blow-for-blow throughout the campaign. It trailed the Republican considerably in circulation -- it reached approximately 3,000 daily and 14,000 for its weekly edition by 1860. But it was brashly anti-slavery under the guidance of editor B. Gratz Brown and his fellow co-owners Frank Blair, Jr., William McKee and George W. Fishback. Lincoln viewed it as an important ally.[27]

Lincoln had problems lining up newspaper support in other states. For various reasons a number of influential Republican politicians and editors in the East did not want the Illinois Republicans to oppose Douglas's re-election. Among the editors were Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, Samuel Bowles III of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, Henry B. Raymond of the New York Times and Thurlow Weed of the Albany Evening Journal. Each man had separate motives for favoring Douglas, but their opposition greatly aggitated the Illinois Republicans, to whom it appeared to be a conspiracy to block Lincoln. Greeley's attitude was particularly perplexing for the Westerners. His influential Weekly Tribune had a large circulation in Illinois (estimated at 20,000 in 1860).[28]

In December, 1857, Lincoln had spelled out this fear of the Illinois Republicans in a letter to U.S. Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois: "What does the New York Tribune mean by its constant eulogizing and admiring and magnifying Douglas?... As yet I have heard of no Republican here going over to Douglas, but if the Tribune continues to din his praises into the ears of its five or ten thousand readers in Illinois it is more than can be hoped that all will stand

firm...."[29] In June 1858, he wrote to a Chicago editor that Greeley's opposition "will continue to be a drag on us."[30]

A number of historians have attempted to explain Greeley's support of Douglas, which apparently was intended to further split the Democrats and make it more difficult for them to win the 1860 Presidential election.[31]

Even in the face of the violent protests from the Western editors, Greeley never supported Lincoln. Instead he neutralized the role of the Tribune through most of the campaign.[32] But Greeley's ambiguous position, as Lincoln historian Don Fehrenbacher has noted, only solidified and reinforced the Illinois Republicans more against Douglas and led to Lincoln's early and emphatic endorsement.[33]

The strongest eastern voice for Lincoln came from the low circulation but influential New York Evening Post. John Bigelow, Evening Post co-editor, (William Cullen Bryant was visiting in Europe at the time) recognized the significance of the Illinois election, supported Lincoln editorially, and made the additional contribution of sending reporter Chester P. Dewey to cover the debates. Dewey was the only major out-of-state reporter to spend the full campaign with Lincoln and Douglas.[34]

Another important newspaper in the coverage was the German-language New York Staats Zeitung. It was vociferously pro-Douglas, and with an estimated 40,000 circulation for its weekly edition, it was considered an influential voice among the large German voting bloc in the Northwest states. The Philadelphia Press, in an analysis of the Staats Zeitung's influence, referred to it as "that power in the land...the Times of Teuto-American journalism...."[35]

V.

A young, energetic corps of reporters covered the campaign, and in doing so preserved the now famous debates for history. The primary innovative contribu-

tions to the coverage were made by the Chicago Press and Tribune and the Chicago Times. Handling the assignment for the Press and Tribune were Horace White and Robert H. Hitt. White, then 24, later became editor of the Tribune and the New York Evening Post. Hitt, also 24, was an experienced Chicago court and newspaper reporter with a wide reputation as an accomplished phonographer (as shorthand reporters were then called).[36]

Covering for the Chicago Times were James B. Sheridan and Henry Binmore. Sheridan, a reporter for John B. Forney's Philadelphia Press, was expert at shorthand and during the early part of 1858 had been loaned by Forney to Douglas as a Washington staff assistant.[37] When Douglas returned to Chicago in July to start his campaign, Sheridan went along and covered the events for the Times and Press.[38] Binmore, 25, born and educated in England, had worked as a newspaper reporter in Montreal, New York and St. Louis prior to the 1858 campaign. He fulfilled a triple assignment during the debates, covering for the Chicago Times, the St. Louis Missouri Republican and the Washington (D.C.) States.[39]

Other reporters who made extensive contributions during the campaign were Dewey for the New York Evening Post,[40] Henry Villard for the New York Staats Zeitung,[41] and John R. Hay for the St. Louis Missouri Democrat.[42] Villard, then 23, was a Bavarian immigrant who had been in the United States for five years. Self taught in English, he was covering his first major news story. Hay had been a law clerk in Lincoln's office and Springfield correspondent for the Missouri Democrat for several years. When Lincoln was elected president, Hay became his secretary, and later his biographer. Another future Lincoln secretary and biographer, John G. Nicolay, who had worked as editor of the Pike County (Ill.) Free Press, served as a subscription salesman for the Democrat during the campaign.[43]

White, Hitt, Sheridan, Binmore and Dewey constituted the main reporting force during the debates, with Hay and Villard joining them on a number of occasions. Each of these reporters covered at least a dozen of the individual talks by the candidates.[44] They were joined sporadically throughout the campaign by "quite an army of young newspapermen," as White described it.[45] These included correspondents and editors of Illinois' numerous political weeklies.[46] The prominence of Douglas, the importance of the issues, and the drama of the face-to-face confrontations attracted national interest. The state and national press responded with broad and detailed coverage to satisfy that interest.

VI.

An incident at the start of the campaign demonstrated it was not going to be reported in the traditional manner. Douglas arrived in Chicago from Washington on July 9, received a large welcome and delivered a long speech outlining his positions. Binmore and Sheridan were on hand to cover for the pro-Douglas Times and White and Hitt for the opposition Press and Tribune. After the speech Binmore and Sheridan went home to bed, planning to transcribe their lengthy shorthand notes the next day, as was customary. Hitt and White went back to the opposition Press and Tribune offices, however, and finished their transcription work that night. The next morning, breaking the newspaper practice of ignoring the opposition, the Press and Tribune ran the story of Douglas's arrival and his full speech. The scoop was "most mortifying" for Binmore and Sheridan, White recalled.[47]

The Press and Tribune added a story explaining, "The publishers of this paper have determined to introduce a style of journalism heretofore unknown in Chicago."[48] Three days later the paper expanded: "We have neglected to state that the verbatim reports of the speeches...were reported expressly for the

Press and Tribune by Mr. R.R. Hitt, a phonographic writer of no little reputation, and the satisfaction expressed by (Lincoln and Douglas) at the accuracy--- were gratifying.... (His services are costly) but we look for our repayment to a public which seldom fails to reward useful enterprise."[49]

The shorthand reports of the speeches were one of the major accomplishments of the debates. Eight or nine columns of type, taking the full front or second page, usually were required for the verbatim accounts, pushing out all other news. This caused the Chicago Times to ask any disinterested readers to "exercise patience" until the campaign was over. To give each report of the debates maximum exposure it suggested, "Read the speeches and then hand it to your neighbor."[50]

There's little doubt other papers appreciated the Chicago papers' verbatim accounts. Dewey of the New York Evening Post, following the opening debate at Ottawa on August 21, complimented the Press and Tribune's "excellent phonographic report" to which "I am indebted for the completion of the brief notes I took."[51] Villard called Hitt, "One of the most skilled shorthand writers in the country," and lifted liberally from the Chicago Times' reports for his Staats Zeitung articles.[52] After using a large portion of the verbatim accounts from the Freeport debate of August 27, the Cincinnati Commercial commented, "In the whole history of the American stump we do not recollect that there is a record of a discussion so searching and comprehensive, so thorough in its analysis of issue, so absorbing in its scope.... The country owes thanks to the Chicago papers for reporting it so well."[53]

Although most Illinois newspapers carried every word of the seven debates, as well as accounts of numerous other campaign speeches, introductions, presentations and candidates' acknowledgements, out-of-state coverage fell sharply after the first three debates. The telegraph was used to transmit some of the

debate coverage,[54] but the main means of sending the reports statewide and nationwide were letters and newspaper exchanges. The exchanges went through the mails free at the time, and usually took only two days to reach New York, St. Louis and other major northern cities.[55] The high cost of the wire service held down its use. In addition, there was some controversy about the objectivity of some of the Associated Press accounts. On July 16, the Press and Tribune charged the AP agent in Chicago was sending out long pro-Douglas articles and only "five-line notices on Lincoln. "The agent is utterly worthless," the paper stated. "We wish to know how long this pro-slavery partisan of Douglas...is to be imposed on the Newspaper Association."[56]

The reporters had a number of mechanical problems taking the debate notes. White could not write shorthand, which left Hitt with the more difficult job. White would handle the lead, general description and color, while Hitt took down the speeches. After Hitt finished transcribing his notes, White would go over the handwritten copy before it went to the printers, making a rare correction. "I could not resist the temptation to italicize a few passages in Mr. Lincoln's speeches, where his manner of speaking has been especially emphatic," White explained.[57] On occasion, the Press and Tribune was able to stay ahead of its competition by using a relay system with Hitt's shorthand notes. Before a debate was finished, a young assistant named Laraminie would leave with the notes Hitt had completed to that point, catch a train to Chicago, transcribing Hitt's work on the way. Hitt would not see the first portion of his work until after it was set in type.[58] To make their work easier, the Times' reporters split the dictation, Sheridan taking down Douglas's speech and Binmore Lincoln's.[59]

In spite of their extraordinary efforts, the reporters received almost as much abuse as the candidates. There were continual charges of garbling, mutilation, rewriting and "improving" the actual speeches.[60] In retrospect, Horace

White did not believe the mutilation charges were warranted. "Binmore and Sheridan took more pains with Mr. Douglas's speeches.... It was what they were paid for and what they were expected to do," White noted. There was no need for them to feel responsible for mistakes in reporting Lincoln's speeches, White said.[61]

Most of the reporting mistakes were attributed to the difficult working conditions for the reporters.[62] There is evidence too, that Douglas was far easier for the reporters to follow than Lincoln. White recalled there were fewer involved sentences in Douglas's speeches than Lincoln's. "Douglas was the more practiced and more polished speaker of the two, and it was easier for a reporter to follow him," he wrote.[63]

The increased coverage by the press caused some problems for the candidates. It was a question if the reporters were participants or observers. Lincoln opened his campaign in Springfield on June 16 with the famous "House Divided" speech. When he finished speaking he turned to White, who was seated nearby covering for the Chicago Daily Tribune. White, a former secretary of the Republi- State Central Committee, was well known to Lincoln. He asked the reporter to take the manuscript to the nearby office of the Illinois State Journal and read proof on the speech, which had been set in type earlier. Lincoln arrived in the backshop before White had finished, and completed the job. He explained to White he had taken "great pains" with the speech and wanted it printed exactly as he had delivered it. The "house divided against itself" phrase was considered controversial because it might appear Lincoln was calling for civil war. Some of his Republican advisers had asked him to remove it from the printed version. Lincoln refused and read proof himself to assure that it remained.[64]

When Douglas spoke at Paris, Illinois, on July 31, H. A. Gallup, a reporter from the pro-Republican Paris Beacon, was forcibly ejected from the speaker's

platform. The paper protested indignantly, but in vain.[65] The shorthand reports appeared to put both candidates more on guard, causing the Cincinnati Gazette to observe, "Going around alone and playing the artful dodger before phonographic reports were the fashion, (Douglas) passed through the "Test" with great success.... Compelled now to face the music and to abandon many of his old stump tricks, he is manifestly suffering damage."[66] Another ejection incident was reported by Henry Villard when he went to Edwardsville on September 18 to report what he thought was to be a combined meeting of Republicans and Know Nothings. When the German-born Villard attempted to enter the meeting he was stopped and asked "a number of mysterious questions in a sort of Free Masonic jargon." He was unable to answer and was physically barred from entering the meeting room.[67]

Lincoln took cognizance of the additional press coverage when he spoke at Beardstown on August 12. He told the audience he wanted to set a matter "in its proper light before any mischief came of it." He went on to explain that Douglas had sent "one of his hired reporters" to cover the speech. Lincoln said he would "cheerfully allow any gentleman to report his speeches, but at the same time he would not be responsible for...a perverted, distorted or patched up report which might appear in the Douglas prints concerning his...speech." With this understanding, Lincoln stated, the "gentleman was welcome to go ahead."[68]

The "gentleman" was Binmore. Although Lincoln had referred to him in the speech introduction as "somewhat of a friend," the reporter was stung by the rebuke. He wrote to the Missouri Republican, "...I must, I do, assume the responsibility for this and every other statement I shall make...." His report of the event concluded, "...Lincoln I know got a pretty severe lecture about the impropriety of (this opening). Just imagine a great man seeking to make capital of the presence of a newspaper reporter!" Another "emphatic individual" on the

platform, Binmore told his readers, had threatened to hang him.[69]

The candidates were accommodating about interviews, however. David R. Locke, later famous as the author of the Petroleum V. Nasby letters, came to see a portion of the campaign for the Bucyrun (Ohio) Journal, where he was editor and co-owner.[70] Locke had a private interview with Lincoln in the latter's hotel room the night before the Quincey debate. The reporter recalled later, "He talked to me without reserve." But not before removing his coat and vest, dropping a suspender from his shoulder, taking off his necktie and collar and finally his boots, explaining he wanted "to give my feet a chance to breathe." Locke stated, "Lincoln admitted frankly all the weak points in the position of his party in the most open way, and that admission, where weakness was visible, strengthened his position on points where he was strong."[71] When Henry Villard arrived in Chicago in July to start his New York Staats Zeitung coverage, he visited Douglas at the Tremont House. "He bid me a hearty welcome," Villard wrote later, "and said he would be happy to have my company during the campaign." Villard also found Lincoln "most approachable."[72]

As time passed the candidates appeared to become more dependent on the reporters. At Beardstown on August 11, as Douglas was about to launch into a bitter counter-attack against fellow Illinois Senator Lyman Trumbull, he turned to Binmore and Sheridan and said, "Take this down." And they did.[73] At the Freeport debate on August 27 when Lincoln began to speak to the 15,000 spectators, it was called to his attention Hitt was not on the stand to take the speech notes. "Ain't Hitt here?" Lincoln asked. He turned to the crowd and shouted, "Where is Hitt?" The reporter, trapped at the end of the crowd, called back that he couldn't work his way forward. Spectators then lifted the slightly-built Hitt and passed him over the heads of the audience until he reached the platform.[74]

White and Lincoln were quite close in their relationship throughout the campaign, traveling together constantly. Binmore and Sheridan rode frequently on Douglas's campaign special, but do not appear to have been as close to Douglas as White was to Lincoln. Binmore explained early in the campaign: "I have no idea of making up a sort of court calendar, chronicling the domestic movements of Douglas. I really am not so much in his favor as to have been informed whether or not he shaved himself, nor can I tell who called upon him...."[75]

The reporters did have strong feelings about the candidates, however, and White and Villard have provided some insight on the attitudes of the working journalists. White explained, "I regarded (Douglas) as the most dangerous enemy of liberty, and, therefore, as my enemy. I did not want to know him...at the age of twenty-four I took my politics very seriously. I thought that all the work of saving the country had to be done then and there."[76]

Villard saw Lincoln in somewhat the same terms. He found he "could not take a real personal liking" to Lincoln because of his vulgar jokes and "uncouth, uncommon" manner.[77] Lincoln was always "lame in his argument and ambiguous in his whole presentation," Villard explained to his readers.[78] Villard concluded his Freeport debate story with this candid admission: "(Douglas's speech) offers many an inspiration to those Democratic journalists who desire to contribute as much as possible to making the principles of party known among the masses."[79]

Working conditions at the debates were a particularly critical problem for the reporters. At the opening debate at Ottawa, Horace White told the readers of the Press and Tribune, it took a half hour "battle to make room for the speakers and reporters on the platform." When the speakers finally commenced, the surging crowd several times "nearly drove the reporters off (the stand) and a half dozen clowns on the roof broke through some of the boards and let them down on the reception committee."[80] At the second debate at Freeport a hand-to-

hand fight took place before the platform could be cleared for the reporters.[81]

Dewey of the New York Evening Post wrote:

> They have a wretched system in Illinois of leaving the platform unguarded and exposed to the forcible entry of the mob, who seize upon it an hour or so before the notibles arrive and turn a deaf ear to all urgent appeals of evacuation.
>
> Hence, orators, committees of reception, invited guests, and... the newspaper gentry have to fight a hand-to-hand conflict for even the meagerest chance for standing room.[82]

The Press and Tribune argued the case for improved press facilities at the debate sites, which it felt were generally inadequate. In an article aimed at the arrangements committee for the fifth debate at Galesburg, the paper said:

> It is not a fact that two chairs and a washstand eighteen inches square are sufficient furniture for half a dozen men to work on, nor is it always convenient to make battle against a mob of excited politicians.... In behalf of ourselves and such other representatives of the press as may be present, may we request that arrangements be made for at least six reporters--that the chairs and tables not be placed where they will be jarred or overthrown by the people on the platform, and that somebody with authority and physical strength enough to secure obedience, be appointed to keep loafers out of the reporting corner. These things are absolutely essential to the accuracy of the reports.[83]

The paper didn't comment on the quality of the Galesburg facilities, but at the sixth debate at Quincey there was another accident with the speaker's platform. The railing around the outside collapsed, causing a dozen persons to fall to the ground.[84]

Travel was another problem for the reporters. They spent much of their time on Illinois' extensive railroad routes, some covering several thousand miles before the campaign was over.[85] Fortunately for the reporters most of it was free. "It was an era when (rail) passes were as common as air," reporter Franc Wilkie recalled, and the "greed for them" great.[86] Chester Dewey of the New York Evening Post agreed one could travel throughout Illinois by train, but added "the delays at the stations of intersecting roads are often long and provoking...one tires of the long and stupid waiting." He told of having to wait out a rain-

storm in an empty boxcar at Dixon, Illinois, because the stationmaster refused to unlock the station house since it was against company regulations to do so until 30 minutes before a train was due. He added:

> I have either been in the cars all night for four nights in succession, or waiting trains at these prairie stations, where there was no rest for body or soul, and where mosquitoes break through and ravage. I know the vesper hymn of half the mosquitoes in the state....[87]

On a rainy night late in October reporter Henry Villard found himself sharing an empty boxcar with Lincoln at a small flag station near Petersburg, Illinois, where Lincoln had spoken that day. "We squatted down on the floor and fell to talking on all sorts of subjects," Villard remembered. Discussion of religion, Villard's German background and Lincoln's political ambitions helped pass the time. In a moment of candor the future president told the reporter, "I did not consider myself qualified for the United States Senate, and it took me a long time to persuade myself that I was. Now, to be sure, I am convinced that I am good enough for it." Lincoln went on, "Mary (his wife) insists, however, that I am going to be senator and president of the United States too." Villard said Lincoln, with his arms wrapped around his knees, shook all over with mirth at his wife's ambition, then exclaimed, "Just think of such a sucker as me as president!"[88]

The reporters also had to make the best of rough Western living accommodations. At one point in the campaign Villard spent two "far from comfortable" nights sleeping in a hotel armchair. He later gave this description of covering the election:

> It was a very hot summer and I was obliged to travel almost continuously. Illinois had...poorly constructed railroads and bad country roads...I fared miserably in many places...food and lodging were nearly always simply abominable. I still vividly remember the day of semi-starvation and the night with half a dozen roommates I passed at Jonesboro, where the third debate took place.[89]

When Dewey arrived in Ottawa late the night before the first debate he was accommodated with a sofa at the hotel.[90] As he sat late at night writing his account of the Freeport debate Dewey noted, "The street is turbulent with shouts and cheers...(which) reach even to my distant room in the rear."[91] As the thermometer hit 100 degrees in August, a Springfield reporter for the Missouri Republican said, "...imagine one almost exhausted by the heat trying to write a few coherent lines for the Republican and you have some idea of the present condition of your correspondent."[92]

Binmore came down with "chills and fever" after a Douglas meeting at Kankakee and was bedridden the last week of September. "I was in no condition to write -- certainly in none to travel," he informed his readers.[93] In mid-October Binmore related the rigors of keeping up with the Douglas party. In pouring rain the reporter rode horseback "with the Judge and his party...over twenty and odd of the longest miles ever traveled" in order to get to Augusta where Douglas was to speak. The reporter felt it "was a labor of love" for the party to travel through heavy fog and rain over the muddy, flooded roads.[94]

VII.

The color, drama and human interest of the 1858 campaign made it a natural test of the descriptive powers of the reporters. An example was the physical differences between the candidates. Chester Dewey of the New York Evening Post wrote:

> Two men presenting wider contrasts could hardly be found.... Everybody knows Douglas, a short, thickset, burly man, with a large round head, heavy hair, dark complexion and fierce bull-dog bark. Strong in his own real power, and skilled by a thousand conflicts in all the strategy of a hand-to-hand or general fight. Of towering ambition, restless in his determined desire for notoriety; proud defiant, arrogant, audacious, unscrupulous, "Little Dug" ascended the platform and looked out impudently and carelessly on the immense throng which surged and struggled before him.[95]

Dewey painted this picture of Lincoln:

> In every relation of life, socially and to the state, Mr. Lincoln has been always the pure and honest man.... Built on the Kentucky type, he is very tall, slender, and angular, awkward even, in gait and attitude. His face is sharp, large-featured and unprepossessing. His eyes are deep set under heavy brows; his forehead is high and retreating, and his hair is dark and heavy. In repose, I must admit that "Long Abe's" appearance is not comely. But stir him up and the fire of his genius plays on every feature...and you have before you a man of rare power and of strong magnetic influence.[96]

In a letter to the London Daily News, E. L. Godkin, who served as American correspondent for that paper, wrote that Douglas was "a model demogogue." He continued, "He is vulgar in his appearance, 'takes his drink,' chews his quid, and discharges his saliva with as much constancy and energy as the least pretentious of his constituents, but enters in the popular feelings with a tact and zest rarely equalled, and assails the heads and hearts of the multitude with a style of manly and vigorous eloquence such as few men can command....[97]

"No two men could exhibit a stronger contrast," Gratz Brown of the Missouri Democrat wrote after covering a portion of the campaign. "The contrast is as marked morally and intellectually, as physically. Douglas is short and thick; Lincoln is tall and slender. The former is fleshy and ruddy in the face, the latter is sparse and his complexion dark. He is considerably over six feet and hence the sobriquet of Long Abe. His weight at present is a hundred and sixty-eight pounds -- several pounds more than when he commenced the canvass."[98]

The crowds at the debates also caught the eye of the reporters. White, writing in the Press and Tribune, described the scene as the crowd gathered for the first debate at Ottawa on August 21:

> ...the streets and avenues from the country were so enveloped with dust that the town resembled a vast smokehouse. Teams, trains and processions poured in from every direction like an army with banners. National flags, mottoes and devices fluttered and stared from every street corner. Military companies and bands of music monopolized the thoroughfares around the court house and the public square. Two brass twelve pounders banged away in the center of the

> city and drowned the hubbub of the multitude with their own higher capacities for hubbub. Vanity Fair never boiled with madder enthusiasm.[99]

At Freeport, Dewey of the Evening Post observed, "It is a day fruitful in debate, and abundantly refreshing to hotel and saloon keepers, who stand aghast at the multitudes to be fed. All prairiedom has broken loose...."[100]

Lincoln's ability to hold his own in debate with Douglas was one of the surprises of the campaign. Dewey wrote, "Listening to (Lincoln)...calmly and unprejudiced, I was convinced that he had no superior as a stump speaker. He is clear, concise and logical; his language is eloquent and at perfect command. He is altogether a more fluent speaker than Douglas, and in all the arts of debate fully his equal."[101] A report from Illinois to the New York Tribune stated, "(Lincoln) states the case at issue with so much easy good humor and fairness that his opponents are almost persuaded he is not an opponent at all.... Lincoln has the strength which attaches to sound moral feeling and a just cause...though he does not on the stump affect the dignity which the 'distinguished Senator' naturally wears."[102] Brown of the Missouri Democrat claimed, "Lincoln more than any other public man of present times infuses the milk of human kindness, and the frankness and courtesy of a gentleman of the old school into his discussions."[103]

Henry Villard came away with an entirely different version of Lincoln's ability:

> (Lincoln) showed by his rhetorical feats that he lacked depth and thoroughness, seriousness of mind, creative methods and sharp logical thinking--qualities by which his rival is so eminently distinguished. Just imagine a would-be statesman who dresses his speeches with the most appalling platitudes, who juggles worn-out cliche phrases and indulges in corny little puns -- a man who sanctimoniously uses Bible quotations instead of arguments and instead of appealing to the intelligence of his listeners merely tries to entertain them by making them laugh.[104]

Smaller details also caught the eyes of the reporters. The frequent appearance of Mrs. Douglas (considered a strong asset to her husband), crowd counts,

straw votes on public opinion, the candidates' campaign images and the welcoming receptions at the various prairie towns often were reported in great detail.

Dewey of the New York Evening Post put a cap on the long campaign when he wrote in his last letter from Illinois: "These debates have not only been published in all the journals in Illinois, but they have attracted the attention of the whole country. They have been in importance and interest to some of the great senatorial debates, when the whole nation stood still to listen to the voice of its greatest men."[105] Two important men had spoken, and, through the press, the nation had listened.

VIII.

Conclusions. Horace White later noted that Lincoln's only means of gaining public attention early in his career was by public speech. "The press did not exist for him," White observed, "or for the people among whom he lived. There was no division of labor between the speaker and the editor."[106]

By the time Lincoln faced Douglas in 1858 the division of labor between the speaker and the press was developing, and developing rapidly. The press of Illinois (and the nation) had grown considerably in the 1850s -- and not only the political press but the more independent penny press as well. As examined in this study, the performance of the press in key campaigns such as the 1858 Lincoln-Douglas election served to help refine the press' role in modern political coverage. However, it's particularly important that the relationship of the debates' coverage to journalism history not be overstated; a much larger study over a longer period of time is needed to trace fully the evolution of political reporting in this country.

What can be seen in this study is that the function of political reporters and the inter-relationship between the press and the politicians were sharpened

somewhat by the intensity and importance of the campaign. The journalists and their papers argued for better reporting conditions and recognition of their role and right to report the debates. It was to be "a new style of journalism" for that day and time, as the Chicago Press and Tribune explained to its readers. The previous ties between the candidates, their parties and the press were still close, but the 1858 campaign provided indications that the old relationships were changing.

The most significant contribution of the press during the Lincoln-Douglas election was the widespread use of shorthand to record the candidates' lively debates. The detailed accounts aided the public's understanding of the people, events and issues. Both men republished the newspaper accounts of their debate speeches and used them as key tools in their 1860 presidential campaigns. It was particularly valuable to Lincoln, who did not stump in 1860, running instead on his previously stated positions. Thus, the newspapers and the reporters preserved the famous speeches for the candidates as well as the public — and for history.[107]

NOTES

1. For the history of the campaign, issues and debates see Paul M. Angle, Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958); Don E. Fehrenbacher, Prelude to Greatness; Lincoln in the 1850s, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962); Richard Allen Heckman, Lincoln vs. Douglas, (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1967).

2. Ibid.

3. Firsts are risky to credit in history, but these are attributed to the campaign by Lincoln historians Angle, op. cit., p. xxv; Fehrenbacher, op. cit., p. 98; and Heckman, op. cit., pp. 41-43. See also Damon Wells, Stephen Douglas, The Last Years (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971) p. 134; Robert S. Harper, Lincoln and the Press (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951) pp. 21-26; and Joseph Logsdon, Horace White, Nineteenth Century Liberal (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1971) Chap. 3. Shorthand had been used previously to report political speeches, but not as intensely in a full campaign.

Most of the material for this manuscript has been collected from a thorough reading of newspapers which had reporters cover the debates, including the Chicago Press and Tribune, Chicago Times, St. Louis Missouri Republican, St. Louis Missouri Democrat, New York Evening Post and Philadelphia Press. Dates read were June 1 through December 31, 1858. Also read for that period were the Herald, Tribune and Times of New York and the Cincinnati Commercial. Other material was obtained from the Henry Villard Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter cited as the Villard Papers). Other limited information about the debates and Lincoln's relationship with the press is included in Robert S. Harper, Lincoln and the Press (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951) and James C. Pollard, The Presidents and the Press (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947).

4. Heckman, op. cit., pp. 143-144; George Fort Milton, The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), pp. 381, 488. Handwritten notes by Lincoln in his debates scrapbook show that he clipped his version of the speeches from the pro-Republican Chicago Press and Tribune and Douglas's from the pro-Democrat Chicago Times. Roy P. Balser, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (8 vols. plus index; New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953-55), III: 1, 38, 102fn, 145, 207, 245, 283. Also see Lincoln's post-campaign request for two sets of the newspapers with the debate transcripts, Ibid., III: 341.

5. It was even unusual to have specific candidates designated so early by the parties. U. S. Senators were chosen by members of the legislature, following the general election.

6. Chicago Press and Tribune, July 1, 1858, p. 4.

7. New York Tribune, July 12, 1858, p. 4.

8. Chicago Press and Tribune, July 22, 1858, p. 2.

9. Balser, op. cit., II: 522, 528-530, 531-532. Also see Robert W. Johannsen, ed., The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 423-424.

10. Heckman, Lincoln vs. Douglas, op. cit., p. 76, and Fehrenbacher, op. cit., p. 99, credit the Press and Tribune with playing an important role in the debate agreement. The agreement was not a complete victory for the Republicans. Their original challenge was that Douglas and Lincoln would speak together at all their campaign meetings, which would have meant more than 50 joint discussions.

11. Stephen B. Oates, With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln (New York: New American Library, 1977), pp. 161-164.

12. Louisville (Ky.) Democrat, September 5, 1858, quoted in Edwin Erle Sparks, ed., The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858, (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1908), p. 42. In another example, the New York Times (July 12, 1858) stated, "Illinois is from this time forward, until the Senatorial question shall be decided, the most interesting political battle-ground in the Union." Also see Herbert Mitgang, ed., Abraham Lincoln A Press Portrait (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), Chap. 3, for more press comment on the debates.

13. St. Louis Missouri Republican, October 23, 1858, p. 2.

14. Fehrenbacher, op. cit., p. 10.

15. Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), pp. 178-17[illegible]. The close tie between many newspapers and political parties and politicians during this era is discussed at length in Culver H. Smith, The Press, Politics and Patronage (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1977), particularly Chaps. V-XV, and William E. Ames, A History of National Intelligencer (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

16. Fehrenbacher, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

17. See Smith and Ames, op. cit. A case study of this need is discussed in Gerald J. Baldasty, "Duff Green: Editor and Political Strategist," a paper presented to the West Coast Journalism Historians Conference, University of Oregon, March 1978.

18. The paper continued under the combined title until November, 1860, when the name Press was dropped.

19. Philip Kinsley, The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years, (3 vols.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943) I, pp. 66-67. Also see Jay Monaghan, The Man Who Elected Lincoln (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956) for more on Ray and the Tribune.

20. St. Louis Missouri Democrat, December 1, 1858, p. 2.

21. Chicago Times, February 23 and May 11, 1858, p. 1. For additional background on the newspaper see Justin Walsh, To Print the News and Raise Hell! (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 110, 111, 150. Douglas also owned a share of the Times. See David E. Meerse, "The Origins of the Buchanan-Douglas Feud Reconsidered," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society LXVII (April 1974) 2: 154-174.

22. Heckman, Lincoln vs. Douglas, op. cit., p. 43; Meerse, op. cit., p. 171.

23. Chicago Daily Tribune, March 6, 1858, p. 2.

24. St. Louis Missouri Republican, June 6, 1858, p. 3. It carried regular correspondence from Springfield and Cairo, Illinois; Cincinnati, Kentucky, Iowa, Nebraska, other sections of Missouri and points along the Mississippi River such as New Orleans and Memphis. See Missouri Republican, July 11, 1858, p. 2 for a history of its first 50 years, 1808-1858.

25. New York Evening Post, September 18, 1858, p. 2.

26. Lexington (Mo.) Democrat Herald, reprinted in St. Louis Missouri Democrat, July 31, 1858, p. 2.

27. Jim Allen Hart, A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, (Columbia Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1961), p. 25.

28. Fehrenbacher, op. cit., p. 11. Douglas was particularly fond of the New York Times, and he later thanked editor Henry J. Raymond for the "courtesy and kindness which it alone of all the New York journals has shown me." See Johannsen, op. cit., p. 478. Douglas had other strong newspaper support outside the state. For examples see Ronald N. Satz, "The African Slave Trade and Lincoln's Campaign of 1858," The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society LXV (Autumn 1972) 3:269-279.

29. Lincoln to Trumbull, December 27, 1857, in Horace White, The Life of Lyman Trumbull, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913).

30. Lincoln to Charles L. Wilson, June 1, 1858, in John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln A History, (New York: The Century Co., 1909), pp. 140-141.

31. The best discussion of Greeley's course is in Peter Allen Isely, Horace Greeley and the Republican Party, 1853-1861, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). Also see Harlan Hoyt Horner, Lincoln and Greeley, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953). After the campaign some of the Illinois Republicans publicly charged Greeley with "scheming" with Douglas to support his re-election. Both denied the charges. Johannsen, ed., op. cit., pp. 479-480. Greeley, however, never backed away from his pro-Douglas position in the campaign. "I still abide in that conviction," he wrote in his memoirs. Recollections of a Busy Life (Reprint edition, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1873, 1971) II: 358.

32. The only direct praise Greeley gave Lincoln in the campaign was for the House Divided speech, which he called "compact and forcible." New York Tribune, June 21, 1858, p. 4. Greeley even wrote a letter to Joseph Medill early in the campaign strongly criticizing Lincoln and his speeches. See John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Abraham Lincoln A History (New York: The Century Co., 1904) II: 139, 140-141fnl.

33. Fehrenbacher, op. cit., pp. 66-69.

34. Charles H. Brown, William Cullen Bryant, (New York: Charles S. Scribners Sons, 1971), p. 404.

35. Philadelphia Press, April 29, 1858. The comparison was to The Times of London.

36. Sparks, op. cit., pp. 75-80.

37. Milton, op. cit., p. 308. Formerly a Buchanan supporter, Forney had become an ardent Douglas supporter. Also see Johannsen, op. cit., p. 442 fn2.

38. Sparks, op. cit., p. 80.

39. Ibid., pp. 81-82; also Milton, op. cit., p. 337. The later careers of Hitt, Sheridan and Binmore suggest shorthand experts could make a better living as court reporters than as newspaper reporters.

40. Sparks, op. cit., pp. 77.

41. Henry Villard, Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier 1835-1900, (2 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904) I, 92. Villard also wrote occasional items to the Philadelphia Press.

42. Howard I. Kushner, "'The Strong God Circumstance': The Political Career of John Hay," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society LXVII (September 1974) 4:362-373; Hart, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

43. Ibid. Several days after the 1858 campaign ended Lincoln wrote a letter to Greeley recommending Nicolay for a correspondent's job with the Tribune. Lincoln to Greeley, November 8, 1858, Balser, op. cit., III, 336. All the young reporters involved in covering the 1858 campaign went on to busy careers. White became nationally prominent as the editor of the Chicago Tribune and New York Evening Post. Hitt became Assistant Secretary of State under President James Garfield and a 12-term congressman. Sheridan subsequently served as Douglas's private secretary, as a colonel in the Union Army, an official reporter of the New York Supreme Court and an elected justice of the New York City Marine Court. Binmore also was a secretary for Douglas, reporter for the U.S. House of Representatives and a long-time Chicago court reporter and lawyer. Villard was a Civil War reporter for the New York Herald and Tribune, railroad developer, Wall Street financier and owner of the New York Evening Post and The Nation magazine. Sparks, op. cit., 75-80; Tom Reilly, "Henry Villard: Civil War Reporter," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1970.

44. In addition to the seven joint meetings, each candidate gave more than 60 separate speeches. Fehrenbacher, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

45. Horace White in William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, Abraham Lincoln, (2 vols.; New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1892) I, 90. Most of the daily newspaper reporters were paid a regular, though low salary, or so much per letter. White, for example, made $15 a week, while Villard earned the same as a combination reporter-subscription salesman. But working on one of the small Illinois political weeklies was a more meager business. After three months as the editor of the Campaign Weekly at Elgin, Franc Wilkie noted, "My sole return for three months hard work was glory and a pair of shoes." See Logsdon, op. cit., pp. 40-41; Villard, op. cit., I, 91; Wilkie, op. cit., p. 70.

46. Heckman, op. cit., p. 41, says Charles F. Browne (Artemus Ward) witnessed a portion of the campaign for Vanity Fair. Since the magazine did not begin publication until late 1859 this seems incorrect. Browne, however, did interview Lincoln after he was elected president.

47. White in Herndon, op. cit., I, 89.

48. Chicago Press and Tribune, July 10, 1858, p. 1.

49. Ibid., July 13, 1858. Lincoln spoke in Chicago July 10, a day after Douglas, and received similar coverage.

50. Chicago Times, October 9, 1858, p. 2.

51. New York Evening Post, August 27, 1858, p. 1.

52. Villard, op. cit., I, 95.

53. Quoted in Sparks, op. cit., p. 518. Eastern papers made extensive use of the Chicago reports, but occasionally muffed the credits. After one such mistake by the New York Herald Joseph Medill wrote a letter to James Gordon Bennett asking for a correction on the source of the transcript. "This feature of journalism has not been ventured upon by any other Chicago paper," Medill explained, and added, "The others copy our reports, and give or omit credit according to the honesty of the taker." New York Herald, August 20, 1858, p. 1. Medill wrote to the New York Evening Post asking for a similar correction. New York Evening Post, August 23, 1858, p. 3.

54. Henry King, American Journalism, (Topeka: Printed at the Commonwealth State Printing House, 1871), p. 13. The dropoff in out-of-state coverage was observed in newspapers read as part of this study, but has not been sampled and measured at this time as that is not the purpose of this study. The dropoff that was observed apparently was due to increasing local political coverage in the out-of-state papers during the Fall 1858 elections.

55. Lee, op. cit., pp. 303-306.

56. Kinsley, op. cit., p. 80. There was no further public discussion of this issue during the campaign, which might mean that it was settled amicably.

57. White in Herndon, op. cit., I, 90.

58. Interview with Hitt in Phonographic Magazine June 1, 1893, quoted in Sparks, op. cit., pp. 78-79. Laraminie's first name was not reported.

59. Chicago Times, October 9, 1858, p. 2.

60. For examples of such charges see Chicago Press and Tribune, August 24, 1858, p. 1, and September 20, 1858, p. 1; St. Louis Missouri Democrat, September 22, 1858, p. 1; and Galesburg (Ill.) Democrat, October 13, 1858, quoted in Sparks, op. cit., p. 83.

61. White in Herndon, op. cit., I, 90.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., I, 92.

65. Chicago Press and Tribune, August 9, 17, 1858, p. 2.

66. Quoted in Sparks, op. cit., p. 543.

67. New York Staats Zeitung, undated 1858, p. 2; item written from Alton, Illinois, September 21, 1858; in Villard Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

68. Chicago Press and Tribune, August 17, 1858, p. 2. Douglas had spoken at Beardstown the day before.

69. St. Louis Missouri Republican, August 20, 1858, p. 2.

70. John M. Harrison, The Man Who Made Nasby, David Ross Locke, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p. 42.

71. Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time, fifth edition (New York: Published by the North American Review, 1888), pp. 440-445.

72. Villard, Memoirs, op. cit., I, 92-93.

73. White in Herndon, op. cit., I, 95.

74. New York Herald, May 29, 1904, (sic) quoted in Sparks, op. cit., p. 79.

75. St. Louis Missouri Republican, August 6, 1858, p. 2.

76. White in Herndon, op. cit., I, 95.

77. Villard, Memoirs, op. cit., I, 93-94, 138.

78. New York Staats Zeitung, September 22, 1858, Villard Papers. In a story to the Philadelphia Press, July 15, 1858, Villard called Lincoln's views those of an intolerant fanatic.

79. New York Staats Zeitung, September 4, 1858, Villard Papers. Italics are mine.

80. Chicago Press and Tribune, August 23, 1858, p. 1.

81. White in Herndon, op. cit., I, 110.

82. New York Evening Post, September 2, 1858, p. 1.

83. Chicago Press and Tribune, October 5, 1858, p. 1.

84. Ibid., October 15, 1858, p. 1.

85. Heckman, Lincoln vs. Douglas, op. cit., p. 45.

86. Franc B. Wilkie, Personal Reminiscenses of Thirty-Five Years of Journalism, (Chicago: F. J. Schulte Company, 1891), pp. 14, 69.

87. New York Evening Post, September 15, 1858, p. 1.

88. Villard, Memoirs, op. cit., I, 96-97.

89. Villard, Memoirs, op. cit., I, 95.

90. New York Evening Post, August 27, 1858, p. 1.

91. Ibid., September 2, 1858, p. 1.

92. St. Louis Missouri Republican, August 11, 1858, p. 2.

93. Ibid., October 8, 1858, p. 2.

94. Ibid., October 30, 31, 1858, p. 2.

95. New York Evening Post, August 27, 1858, p. 1.

96. Ibid.

97. Rollo Ogden, ed., Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Ogden, (2 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907) I, 178.

98. St. Louis Missouri Democrat, September 30, 1858, p. 2.

99. Chicago Press and Tribune, August 23, 1858, p. 1. As an example of the out-of-state interest in the debates, White's story and the speeches were reprinted in full by the New York Evening Post, August 25, 1858, p. 1, and New York Tribune, August 26, 1858, pp. 5-6.

100. New York Evening Post, August 27, 1858, p. 1.

101. Ibid.

102. New York Tribune, June 26, 1858, p. 5.

103. St. Louis Missouri Democrat, September 30, 1858, p. 2.

104. New York Staats Zeitung, September 4, 1858, in Villard Papers.

105. New York Evening Post, October 20, 1858, p. 1.

106. White In Herndon, op. cit., I, xix-xx.

107. As a footnote to this study, Lincoln won the popular vote by a narrow margin, but Douglas had enough carry-over votes in the State Legislature to add to the seats he took in the election to ensure his reelection to the U.S. Senate by the Legislature.